

XXXXXX TAPE TWO

POWELL: On the business of Gunnar Myrdal, that he proposed, you take, on the relocation, that's the one that people get so emotionally upset about also. And yet, one of the main features of the Manpower Development Training Act, which was my first major bill, New York Times said it might go down in history, as the greatest labor bill of this century, and then my ~~XXXXXX~~ vocational education bill, we put in those bills, federal funds, to relocate people, if      take a Manpower Retraining Bill, there we have federal funds, available to move workers, and their families, to other areas of the United States if they so desire, and to ~~retain~~---retrain them in those areas for job vacancies in those areas. So there again, I point out that the emotional business of the relocation of people after slavery is unfounded. I don't believe now in the relocation of Negroes as proposed by some of the southern senators because that merely a gimmick.

*RM* \_\_\_\_\_ because they said they wouldn't be happy in Vermont though.

POWELL: Well, I can recall when I married Hazel Scott, the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont rented ~~him~~ me his lakeside chalet, for my honeymoon, and the neighbors of the chief justice, threatened that if I did come for my honeymoon, that they would have my water supply cut off, This is not so many years ago either. My son is 17, ~~and~~ at M.I.T., so it would be about 17-1/2 or 18 years ago.

Q: Well, it hasn't changed entirely, I ~~can~~---can assure.

PWXX POWELL: I don't think anything will ever change entirely.

Q: If we had equality in legal terms and all basic social \_\_\_\_\_, doesn't that mean intermarriage, and ~~xxx~~ doesn't that mean integration automatically, it means \_\_\_\_\_ ~~xxxx~~ at east for a long time, increasing, of the centric forces that draw groups together. Does this \_\_\_\_\_

POWELL: Oh yes, the \_\_\_\_\_ in marriages is ridiculous because that's something you can't stop. White girl can marry Negro boy, or Negro girls marry white boys, can't stop it. And it's not widespread.

Q; You certainly can't legislate it.

powell: No, you can't legislate it. I has nothing to do, I think Gunnar Myrdal pointed this out, this is the last thing Negroes in his ten points.

Q: What about quotas, how do you feel about that whole problem.

POWELL: I'm against quotas, but I'm in favor of preferential hiring, as an emergency measure only, until a norm is reached, and I base this not just on my feeling, but I base it on something that I did. In '40 or '41, I led the nonviolent Picket campaign ~~xxx~~ against bus company in New York, because it woldn't employ Negroes except as maintenance workers, and cleaners.

And in 12 days, I halted the buses, in New York, and as a result we had a tripartite agreement legally drawn up between Mike Quill of the Transport Workers and the McCarthy, president of the bus company, and myself representing the Negro consumer, and in that we agreed that the bus company would hire two Negroes for every white, until a reasonable number had been hired; from that moment which is over 20 years ago, I have had not one single complaint from a Negro in the company or applying to the company, and today Mike Quill has 10,000 Negro union members in the Transport Workers Union, and that is proof positive, that preferential hiring does work, and has worked, but purely as an emergency measure, but quotas, no.

Q: Preferential hiring, that is, at a certain level of competence.

powell: Oh yes, yes, yes, in other words, when two people appear, and both equal, hire the Negro, until you've got a reasonable number in your plant.

Q: With reference to Quill, I'm reminded of this ~~xxx~~ notion, how do the Teamsters Union stand on the matter of race? ~~Rxxx~~ Their practice.

POWELL: ~~The~~, in the locals that do not deal with cross country hauling, very good. In the locals that deal with cross country hauling, no good, because of the simple fact that a Negro teamster pushes a truck across the country, can't get accommodations.

q; Simple as that. Not prejudice.

powell: can't get accommodations.

Q: It's outside the Teamster Union attitudes,

POWELL: I ~~a~~ talked this over with teamster ~~for~~ officials, not with Mr. Hoffa, I've never spoken to Hoffa, have seen him in restaurant in Washington at a distance, but I've talked it over with other people, and this is their problem, that's why they're so much in favor of the civil rights bill.

Q: What do you think will happen?

X  
POWELL: I don't know, I ~~don't~~ don't know, I think the article by Fred Cook in last week's Nation is absolutely shocking. The Nation devoted only 50 pages to an analysis of the way they tried to, and did, hang Hoffa. It's unbelievable, star witness, for instance, who has been on the payroll of the Dept. of Justice, which is against the laws of Congress, \$150. to \$200. a week, and the jurors not only were served liquor as they were locked in, but the male jurors, women were procured for them. by the Dept. of Justice, and paid for by the Dept. of Justice.

Q: Gives it a new glamor doesn't it.

POWELL : If the women were glamorous, it did.

Q: What about Ruby? Do you make any sense of that?

POWELL: No. I am completely at sea concerning that whole situation.

Q: It's a fascinating

POWELL: I would ~~like~~ like to see Ruby allowed to have a press conference.

Q: Well, I'd like that too, just out of morbid curiosity.

POWELL: You know he hasn't said one word to the press at ~~any~~ all, not one word has come out directly or indirectly.

Q: Well, I suppose we'll ~~know~~ never know.

POWELL: I think that's it. Will never know.

Q: ~~Get usre~~---For sure.

POWELL: "All the King's Men"

Q: Well, that's a thing we'll never know. He re's a problem that's always up, in one form or another, it's \_\_\_\_\_ the race question and the economic class question. How do you I ~~think~~ think I know your drift of thought on this question. This intersection which is clear, it's a fact, but not clear in the

implications or the policy which \_\_\_\_\_. I think I know some drift of your thinking about ~~this~~ this, but could you be more specific? And more theoretical if you wish. Take the individual Negro -- it's a race question and also an economic class question. Now how do you discuss this intersection, or deal with this intersection, these two issues. Now, many Negroes now and many white people now, think of this thing as purely as a matter of race, and I think, integration, as a panacea, perfect medicine you see.

POWELL: No I think the Negro participates in the economic class struggle in the United States, the same as the white man, he and he indicates this himself, by being one of the most consistent purchasers of brand commodities, and of status symbol. I think that that will continue as it is in every strata of American society. I think definitely, that, and integration won't have anything to do with it, because it's part of the American escalator system of going up. Status symbols, and split level housing and Cadillacs and so forth.

Q: This one period of conspicuous consumption is ~~is~~ more obvious among Negroes, because they have less outlet for their

POWELL: And because of their visibility too. Yes, your black man in a white Cadillac is different than seeing a white girl in a white ~~white~~ Cadillac.

q; Yes, high visibility.

POWELL: Visibility. Now you take compact cars. Compact cars do not ~~sell~~ sell -- sell among Negro people, as they're selling among whites. People can't understand <sup>why</sup> driving around in a 14 year old Jaguar

well, it serves my purpose. I'm not interested in status symbols, so then people say -- well that's because you don't need it.

Q: Well, here's a truth about all those status symbols, isn't there?

POWELL: Oh yes, sure, fellow \_\_\_\_\_ in the office just now, outstanding ~~law-in---~~ lawyer in Washington, say -- what ~~are~~ are you doing in ~~the~~ suit, you got two holes in it. He said -- I like it.

Q: Have you been reading Whitney Young's Marshall plan program?

POWELL: Yes, that's the kind of thing that Lyndon has just applied to the Appalachian region by the way. It's really an old W.P.A. I think my war on poverty bill will take out some of the wrinkles, I know my vocational education bill and manpower retraining bill and juvenile delinquency bill -- these are the major

Q: They're more inclusive.

POWELL: These are specifics. These are much more important than Civil Rights Bill, to the Negro, much more.

Q: Because these are aimed at giving the context. Creating a context.

powell; That's right, correct.

Q: Let me ask you what you think of Abraham Lincoln.

POWELL:

Well, you're the historian, as I keep on saying, and I haven't read history, you can see by my library here, this is one of my \_\_\_\_\_ . I think Lincoln is vastly vastly over-rated. I think that ~~he did~~ -- he did nothing at all except that which he had to do, and he did it in terms of winning a war. He was considered with the Union more ~~than~~ ~~than~~ ~~than~~ than with slavery, and that's why he said that slavery was not the real issue involved, in the war between the states.

QM: What about Grant?

Q:

POWELL: I don't know much about Grant at all. Except Lincoln's famous remark about his drinking liquor. And I never can understand, maybe you can tell me why, ~~why~~ why was Grant buried in New York City?

Q: I don't know. I'm ~~not a New Yorker~~. Except that he lived there for some years, and his friends were there. This is very generous of you -- this time you are giving me. Tell me this, what's the role of the white man, the liberal, what is his role in relation to the Negro revolution, and in relation to society in general.

POWELL: Alright, in relation to the Negro Revolution, Joe Barry who writes a column for the New York Post, asked me this same question in Paris last June, ~~and~~ at a press conference I held in the Embassy there. And my answer to him was very terse. Not to be abrupt, ~~it~~ -- but just to give him the answer. "Follow black leadership."

Q: In the Negro movement.

POWELL: That's right. The white man can no longer control, nor should control the black movements. This is the only ~~an~~ ethnic group left in the United States, that has participation by people of other groups. Interrelation groups I believe in, but in terms of the black revolution -- no. Black led, white workrs, white followers.

Q: I know your remarks about Jack Greenberg of the N.A.A.C.P.

POWELL: Jack Greenberg, Spingarn, right on down ~~the~~ the Board of directors.

Q: That has been always a biracial

POWELL: Let is be known as one. Let it stop sayin that this is the voice of the black masses. As long as you got so many whites sitting in the Board of Directors, and President, in policy-making positions. Can't find this in any other ethnic group. The Polish American Congress for instance, Polish American Congress wrote me the other day, asked me if I'd make remarks on the anniversary of Poland's ~~xxxx~~ being taken over by Russia. I as a Negro will make those remarks, but no Negro serves in the Polish American Congress. Federation of Italian Societies, \_\_\_\_\_, B'nai Brith, so forth and so on. So it's time for Negroes, 100 years of adolescence, to have their own Black organization with the white ~~xxx~~ liberal supportintgit in every way. Working on the staff too.

Q: What is the white liberal's role in the society out of this ~~xxxx~~ question now.

POWELL: To advance the entire course of liberalism.

With Negro liberals, I don't think there should be such a thing as white liberals -- <sup>just</sup> liberals, I think that's the way we have taken the word liberal and decimated its power, by saying white liberals and Negro liberals there's no such thing.

Q: Well, the phrase white liberals stems from the Negro

POWELL: Negro ~~xxx~~ calling the white man a white liberal now, when he wants to lead, or being ~~inx~~ in the power structure of the black revolution. If he is a white man and he is a liberal, in labor, housing, anything else, the Negro doesn't call him a white liberal. Only when he wants to put ~~mx~~ his foot in the door of the policy making of the black revolution.

Q; What about the whole liberal movement in America now?

POWELL: Oh, I think, it's ~~xxx~~ was ~~amx~~ almost ~~finxi~~ finished, and it's just trying to come back, but beginning with McCarthy, and during the Eisenhower period, this nation had a blanket of mediocrity. It became a cult. Like Samuel Hoffenstein once wrote -- years ago -- come weel, come co, my status is quo. ~~Fax~~ That's a beauty. Now I think ~~wixx~~ with the freshness of Kennedy and Jacqueline, there was a rebirth, and there was something in the air, and the white liberal and the Negro liberal are beginning to move again. But before, I think the liberal movement as about finished.

Q: Let me read you a quotation here, from a man whose name you will know -- Arnold Rose, Myrdal's collaborator, you remember., on

Negro history. The rewriting of Negro history, and the investigation. The whole tendency of a Negro history movement, not of history, but of propaganda, is to encourage the average Negro to escape realities of the actual achievement and the actual failures of the present. Although the movement consciously tends to build race pride, it may also cause Negroes unconsciously, to recognize that their group pride maybe be built partly on this delusion. And this may result in an devaluation of themselves, for being forced to resort ~~a~~ to self-deception."

long  
That's a ~~big~~ pice

POWELL: Yes, yes, I know what he's trying to say, he's trying to say that the efforts of people like the Association ~~of Negroes~~--for the Study of Negro Life and History, and people who are in the pulpit, I mean, the broad pulpit, not just the church, to instill pride among Negroes, might lead them to thinking that they are more than what they really are.

Q: The evidence that they offer have been ~~amx~~ not adequate for the claims ~~x~~ made.

POWELL: But on the other hand, persons such as myself, chairman of this committee on education, and my staff, the tremendous resources of the library of congress, we are initiating a curriculum study of ~~Amx~~ American textbooks, with a view of seeing that these textbooks more accurately portray the Negro, not with a view of building up some false pride in the Negro mass, but with a view of building up truth in the minds of Americans, white and black, concerning Negroes. For instance, very few people know ~~the-th--tht~~ the ~~first~~ first man to die that American might be free, was Crispus Attucks, a black man from Barbados.

There is a little ~~man-tucke~~ monument tucked away in the commons up in Boston, that's all. If he had been white, there'd be a monument in nearly every major city, there'd be a poem about him, like a poem about Paul Revere and so forth. So we want to get this, we want to put the facts into textbooks for the good of white Americans. as well, as for the good of Negroes.

Q: Every country has its own myths, not substantiated by the facts,

POWELL: Incidentally, that's a great line from Fullbright's foreign policy speech, that we are in conflict between the old myths and the new realities, and we are shrinking the grounds of discussion by confining discussion of this to what he called unthinkable thoughts. A great statement. And that's the problem, not only in foreign policy, everywhere. Old myths, the new realities, the unthinkable thoughts.

q; That's well put.

POWELL: Oh, wonderful.

q; It's well put indeed. He has a gift for phrase.

POWELL: Yes. Yes.

XXWX q; He \_\_\_\_\_

POE  
XXXXX POWELL: \_\_\_\_\_

I have very good relationships, I gave the War on Poverty Bill to \_\_\_\_\_ Of

of the congressional delegation to the I.L.O. convention in Geneva against ~~xxxx~~ this year, I've been that three years in a row. Not just there, but white Europe asks me -- how can we take the United States seriously on its position as being the leader of the free world, when we have this picture of this woman down on the street with two policemen on top of her. ~~xx~~ Baldwin is correct. This is no longer the Negro's fight, and the sooner the white man realizes it, and not too late, the better.

Q: How widely is it realized.

POWELL: It's not, it's not. It's realized very very definitely and desperately by people in top positions of power, but when you get down into the counties and the backwash of America, the rural areas, and even in the cities, it's not realized. ~~President~~ Lyndon Johnson made Carl Rowan head of the United States Information Service, in his own words, he said -- I want a black man to be disseminating our propaganda. He has just taken another Negro, friend of mine, Carter, who is Asst. Secretary of State, and this coming Friday, tomorrow, he will be made the Deputy Chief of Protocol, of the United States -- why, because the people who are coming here, now, are ~~the~~ dark. They come from Asia, Africa, Latin America, \_\_\_\_\_.

Q: Now how much is this old of the Negro "leader?" in politics, in the arts, in business or anything else, since ~~he~~ dealing with the white world, he loses something of the Negro world, ~~his old~~ ~~suspicion~~ the old suspicion of the sell-out. Is that still \_\_\_\_\_

POWELL: Yes, very definitely. Very definitely and

unfortunatēly it's proven repeatedly, when we had demonstrātion in New York City under Galamison, I was the only elected Negro official that supported it. And the Negro press, the Amsterdam News, just castigated editorially week after week, the assemblymen, city councilmen, and state senators, and so forth, another problem is that Negro leaders don't ~~live~~ live with Negroes. I am the only Negro leader and I don't count as a Negro leader because I don't have a national organization, but I'm a Congressman and I'm a minister of a church in the heart of Harlem, I am the only one that lives in Harlem. The others don't. They live Riverside Drive, Long Island, Westchester, it's alright, if you're gonna do it. But I can do it, why can't they? And in Washington, I live in the heart of the slums, in ~~the~~ Washington, in Southeast Washington.

Q: Now we come back to the problem of integration. Comes out of this. There's been a process, slow but increasing.

POWELL : There's so many \_\_\_\_\_ definition of conversion. is the Remember the definition of conversion -- process slow or sudden.

Q: This matter of the pulling out from the Negro community, ~~f-suc-~~ of successful Negroes, has been the basis of a lot \_\_\_\_\_

POWELL: The Negro leadership has got to stay with the Negro masses as he fights to integrate the Negro masses, and for him to go out and be integrated is of no help to the masses. He is taking, he is draining the leadership resources, out of the community that needs it. ~~They~~ Needs those resources.

Q: \_\_\_\_\_

does give a new public image of the Negro.

POWELL: No. Don't believe it. No. Ralph Bunche moves where he is. I moved for instance, in Fleetwood, well, in Westchester. I moved there, on a street quite a few years before, where they broken out the windows and burned crosses on the lawn. I moved to a very lovely- lovely house, and it didn't affect the attitudes of the people they ~~didn't~~ didn't \_\_\_\_\_ burning crosses, maybe because they were ~~afraid~~ afraid. And after several years my immediate neighbors, meaning the house next door and the house across the street, only, became friendly with us, on a semi-social basis. See, and it gives them an escape, they can say -- well, Ralph Bunche lives with us, or Jackie Robinson -- like ~~ix~~ saying -- I'm a member of the N.A.A.C.P. Or gave them a thousand dollars. NO, Negroes are suspicious of this, back to ~~your~~ --- your original question. Negroes are very suspicious of this breakfast that was held at the height of the demonstrations last year, where Courier of the \_\_\_\_\_ Foundation got whites to pledge \$800,000. to the Six Six civil rights movement. And they grew suspicious of a sellout. And I think to a certain extent they were justified, because one of the most able organizations in terms of demonstrations is SNCC, and SNCC was part of the Big ~~##~~ Six, and they didn't give SNCC a penny. I sent SNCC a hundred dollar check, just a couple of days ~~ago~~ ago, and they wrote me back -- thank ~~you~~ God, all we had in our treasury when your check arrived, was ~~\$9.17~~ \$9.17. But they got \$800,000. split among the Big Boys. And I don't care whether it's overt or not, subconsciously when you get ~~that~~ that kind of money into organizations ~~operating~~ operating on a marginal basis, you're gonna think

twice before you make some utterances or do some things.

Q: Just take an episode like this. I live in suburbia, Connecticut, a group of people where I live there.

POWELL: I've been there, a friend of mine, a doctor, had a house in Riverside,

Q: I live over in Fairfield. I'm between Bridgeport and New York.

POWELL: I see, well, Riverside is between Bridgeport and \_\_\_\_\_ on the coast. I have a very eminent and extremely wealthy doctor friend who lived there for years, used to weekend in his summer house very luxuriously, ~~know~~ no ~~impress~~ impression on his neighbors. Speaks fluent French. Has Rolls Royce. No impression. Go ahead.

Q: The question is simply this. People I know around that neighborhood, are organizing, people I know, the people I know are the ~~hitomi~~--white middle aged ladies, who take the civil rights movement and the ~~knag~~ integration question very seriously, and they are giving a biracial dance to raise money for the N.A.A.C.P. This sort of thing, I was told by certain Negroes I know, ~~wgixmx~~ who I thought would ~~ueculap~~--peculiar about it, they thought it was fine. I don't know how much humor ~~statement~~ was in this statement as fine, you see, but they played along with it. I can't ~~qmax~~ quite fathom the whole complications of it myself, I've tried to feel what my own feelings would be if I were A Negro, and \_\_\_\_\_ this occasion, I haven't been able

But the ones I know \_\_\_\_\_ along with this, in their stride.

POWELL : I don't think